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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

TEACHER TALK: THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND PARALANGUAGE IN A FRENCH IMMERSION KINDERGARTEN.

BY

BARBARA EILEEN LAVALLEE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION.

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Teacher Talk: The Role of Language and Paralanguage in a French Immersion Kindergarten submitted by Barbara Eileen Lavallee in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

DR. HELEN ILOTT

DR. SANDRA WEBER

DR. DOUGLAS PARKER

Date: March 26 1990

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

Norm,

Lise,

and David.

ABSTRACT

This self-study describes patterns of communication in social interaction in a French immersion kindergarten with particular emphasis on the role of teacher input. The process of "scaffolding" (Bruner, 1975) which specifically considers the role of the adult tutor in an interactive instructional context, was selected as the best method to research the teacher's linguistic and pedagogical strategies.

Data consisted of videotapes and accompanying transcripts which, taped over the course of a nine month period (September-May), portrayed the teacher/researcher interacting with two separate groups of kindergarten students during the first half hour period of the day known as "circle time." Guided by the principles of "constitutive ethnography" (Mehan, 1979), a representative sample of the entire data was analysed and coded into categories. These categories formed the basis of a provisional scheme which was presented to an external observer to assure for reliability of category selection. After some modification, the model was then compared to the remaining data and refined until a small set of recursive rules incorporated all of the data. The data analysis uncovered variables of adult participation that were unique to this second language teaching/learning environment and resulted in the definition of an L2 scaffolding process model.

A discussion of the findings reveals that, inherent in the structure of the L2 scaffolding process are situationally embedded language and paralanguage behaviours used by the teacher which evolved and changed over time to accommodate students' developing needs. Initially, the second language was primarily conveyed by the dominating physical presence of the teacher. Forcefully repeated, extended, and encouraged, language, both pedagogical and organizational

in nature, was heavily supported by the manipulation of pedagogical materials and the use of exaggerated voice and body movements. The children's participation in the early stages was limited to memorization and imitation of "teacher" language and gestures within songs and formulas. As the children's comprehension of L2 developed the supportive paralanguage features decreased in intensity and the previous focus on form was replaced by an accentuation of content as teacher-student dialogue began to evolve. Collaboration now manifested itself, as students increasingly initiated their own learning by being more involved in the physical organization of their activities, manipulating materials and directing dialogue.

The major conclusion of this research study indicates that, over time, as the children in this French immersion kindergarten became more able to actively participate in their language learning, the initially dominant supportive paralanguage strategies used by the teacher "self-destructed" to be replaced by "collaborative" language strategies.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

How do young children in the initial stages of second language learning in a French immersion kindergarten classroom come to make sense of the experience? How does the teacher contribute to that sense making process? The input of the teacher is known to be a critical variable in second language learning (Obadia, 1984), and with the advent of interest in L2 classroom centered research (Gaies, 1983; Chaudron, 1983) the phenomenon of "teacher talk" has taken on new dimensions. Rather than continuing to pursue a research approach which isolates and examines techniques and methodologies with prescriptive goals in mind, classroom centered research advocates a more basic level of investigation focussing on what actually happens between the teacher and student.

Direct examination of second language classroom activity reveals that language is taught and learned in social contexts and is the product of the ongoing, interactive work of all the participants involved (Allwright, 1983; Ellis, 1984). Any interaction seems to require that the participants combine individual strategies into a mutually acceptable joint strategy of "negotiation of meaning" (Wells, 1979) that allows them to establish and maintain communication topics. An important dimension of the study of human verbal interaction is the realization that language is culture-specific. The classroom has been identified as a specific sub culture (Wilkinson, 1982) and this culture is reflected in its communication patterns. Language is embedded in this situational and cultural context, and in the early

stages of L2 development various verbal and non verbal cues allow the learner to respond to the new language before actual comprehension is in place.

Jerome Bruner (1976) described a special form of dialogue between teacher and student called the "scaffolding process" that clearly describes the interactive nature of teaching and learning. Through a process of dialogue, says Bruner, both teacher and student determine those aspects of an unfamiliar task which the child is able to complete with the teacher "filling in the rest." It is assumed that this "assisted performance" will lead to the development of future task competence more quickly than if assistance had not been given. Some interesting applications of Bruner's model (Cazden, 1983; Ilott, 1987) have demonstrated that such a scheme can be effectively applied in a variety of educational contexts.

Examination of the scaffolding process in the context of a French immersion kindergarten might uncover the purposes and strategies involved in a second language learning situation, and it might provide insights into the nature of the interactive work, and it might more clearly define the particular culture of French immersion kindergarten.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to describe and interpret the scaffolding process in a French immersion kindergarten in order to identify the purposes and strategies which contribute to the child's construction of meaning in an initial second language learning experience.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were defined to clarify important concepts to be explored in this study.

French Immersion Kindergarten

This refers to the kindergartens in Alberta schools and the curriculum which focuses on an integrated, child-centered approach to learning and emphasizes language development in all its activities. A French immersion kindergarten adheres to the same curriculum objectives as all kindergartens but presents all activities exclusively in the second language (French). The major goal of French immersion kindergarten is to introduce and cultivate the children's second language development. Using a variety of verbal and nonverbal strategies, the teacher becomes the primary source of the new language.

Paralanguage

The word "paralanguage" first coined by George L. Trager (1958) is defined as a verbal feature distinguishable from the specifically non verbal behaviors of kinesics and proxemics. Over the years "paralanguage" has come to encompass a broader definition that includes kinesics, proxemics, and paraverbal aspects (Pennycook, 1985). The present study has respected Pennycook's definition and has concentrated on paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic aspects of paralanguage in the French immersion context.

Paraverbal Elements

These elements include the following: degree of intensity, rate, and pitch of non-lexical speech items (Prosody) and the use of "non words" occurring in the standard language system.

Kinesic Elements

These elements constitute the broad domain of facial expression, posture, and body movement.

Proxemic Elements

These features refer to touching behaviours and other concerns of social distance.

The Scaffolding Process

This is a term employed by J. S. Bruner (1976) to define the special form of dialogue which occurs between the adult tutor and student in a problem solving situation. The nature of this "dialogue" which consists of six vital functions (recruitment, reduction, direction, relevant features, supporting, and modeling) is integral to an understanding of the interaction taking place. Bruner concluded that adult assistance provided by the scaffolding process enhances both immediate task comprehension and hastens future task competence.

Research Questions

1. What is the nature of the scaffolding process in the context of French immersion teaching, i.e. what are some of the important variables in the scaffolding process?

2. Are some variables of the L2 scaffolding process more important than others and does their nature change over time?

Limitations of the Study

1. Since the following was a self-study, an element of subjectivity has been unavoidable.

2. Scaffolding variables may be teacher-specific and therefore not generalizable to French Immersion teaching as a whole.

3. The small sample limits generalizability.

Significance of the Study

This study considered the specific social cultural milieu of a French immersion kindergarten in order to provide insights into those critical variables that distinguish and define a French immersion learning experience in its initial stages. A detailed description of the nature of interaction in the immersion kindergarten and an examination of its specific culture was undertaken to investigate the contributions of all participants and how those contributions assist in the unfolding of language.

To date, French immersion has lacked study from an interactive approach to language development and also from a qualitative process-oriented approach. It is necessary to address questions related to interaction particularly at the kindergarten level where second language learning begins. It was the contention of this researcher that a study that placed an increased emphasis on qualitative methods of inquiry might provide fresh perspectives in L2 research and lead to new strategies for dealing with the puzzling questions that continue to demand more definitive

answers. By employing a qualitative methodology which has yielded solid, legitimate answers to similar questions in the past, others might be encouraged to pursue a more qualitative line of inquiry as well.

Overview of the Study

In chapter 2 pertinent literature is reviewed in order to provide a frame of reference for the study and to define the methodology. Chapter 3 describes the design of the study. The findings are presented and discussed in chapter 4. Following a summary of the study, conclusions, suggestions for further research, implications for pedagogy, and the concluding statement are presented in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the broad field of second language education, "immersion" has emerged as an exciting, innovative way to advance the goal of bilingualism. Since its inception in the 1960's, French immersion has become enormously successful in the field of second language teaching and learning all across Canada due, in large part, to the priority placed on research as a fundamental component of its programs (Lapkin, & Swain, 1984). Numerous studies examined the effects of bilingualism on students' academic, social, and linguistic development with generally favorable results. From the perspective of hindsight however, it is now evident that initial research in French immersion was directed by particular socio-political needs and motivated by a strong desire to prove that such programs were effective (Carey, 1984). The experimental design of such research emphasized outcomes and achievement while it neglected important aspects of second language acquisition within the classroom itself (Genesee, 1987). The success of French immersion programs is largely no longer in dispute and the time has come for a change of direction in research policy. Just as the development of immersion programs in education has focused on an important way of promoting bilingualism, so too can immersion research increase its body of knowledge through a redirection of its research mandate to include consideration of the language learning environment.

A survey of relevant literature will first situate French immersion programs in their unique socio-historical milieu and review the goals and findings of French immersion research. Next, an application of other research perspectives, in both

language and research methodology will orient this study towards an approach in immersion research that shifts its emphasis from a product orientation to one which examines second language processes within an interactive framework.

The Socio-Historical Perspective

In the English majority setting of Alberta schools, immersion programs provide instruction in both the first language and the target language (French), with at least 50% of total instruction being done through the medium of the second language. Immersion programs have evolved and expanded into many alternative forms which differ mainly with respect to when children enter the program (early, late, delayed), how much of the second language is used (total, partial) and how many years students stay in the program (Genesee, 1987). The immersion program in this study, was "early total" which means children entered at the kindergarten level, and were spoken to exclusively in French until grade two when English was introduced through language arts.

First implemented in 1965, French immersion programs were introduced in response to a particular socio-political situation within the province of Quebec. This was the period of the "Quiet Revolution," a time when the French speaking people of Quebec publicly and vociferously objected to the linguistic and cultural inequities that threatened the existence of their language and culture in an officially bilingual country. Certain English speaking Quebecers became sensitized to the alienation between the two cultures and began to realize as well, that French was increasingly going to assert its importance as the primary language of communication in Quebec for both social and business purposes. Genesee (1987)

reports that English Canadians felt alienated from their French neighbors because of their inability to communicate in French, a fact they blamed squarely on the education system. They believed improved French programs would lead to true bilingualism and subsequent understanding and cooperation between the two "solitudes." Motivated by social change and a desire to assure their children every economic opportunity, a small group of parents in the Montreal suburban community of St. Lambert began to meet informally to discuss ideas for improved second language instruction. They sought the advice of experts like Dr. Wallace Lambert and Dr. Wilder Penfield who provided them with valuable insights into the social, cognitive, and psychological aspects of bilingualism as well as enthusiastic support for their plans. After two years of meetings, the St. Lambert group finally approached their local school board, who very reluctantly agreed to set up one experimental immersion kindergarten to be monitored closely and operated on a year to year basis only (Genesee, 1987). The program proved to be highly successful and the St. Lambert experiment has come to be hailed as an important milestone in Canadian bilingual education. " . . . The St. Lambert experiment has become a landmark in French language education not only in Canada but around the world" (Carey, 1984).

French Immersion Research

As French immersion programs gained momentum across Canada in the late 1960's and 1970's, research was considered essential in order to validate this new and experimental approach to second language learning. Both from an educational and political vantage point it was deemed necessary to employ a research

methodology which could reassure parents, teachers, and administrators alike that children were well on their way to becoming fluently bilingual with no impairment to other academic and social skill areas. Guided by the major assumption underlying immersion that the education these children received would be the same as that of other students in regular English programs except for the language differential, several major questions determined the direction of initial research studies. Would children's first language skills be negatively affected in immersion programs? Would academic achievement suffer? How much French would students actually learn? And what were the social psychological implications of immersion? (Lapkin & Swain, 1981).

From the beginning, the standard design of immersion research was to compare the performance of students in immersion programs with that of students in a regular English program and at times with that of students in Francophone programs. As Lapkin and Swain described in their research update (1984), these comparative studies were often carried on longitudinally with subsequent follow-up groups compared to the first group of students entering a program. In his comprehensive review of immersion studies, Genesee (1987) states that language and academic achievement were measured by the use of standardized tests when possible and that students were generally tested in groups by the classroom teacher or by a trained individual examiner. Typically the test results were statistically compared using an analysis of variance or covariance.

Viewed retrospectively, all the major research studies (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1981; Cummins, 1983) reported similar positive findings. Results differed somewhat according to the choice of program option but generally

each of the three basic types (early, delayed, late) was found to be an effective route to bilingualism. The most convincing statistics arose from investigation of early total immersion. A report by Cummins (1983) summarized the principal findings reflected in most of the research. First of all, he pointed out that although there were temporary lags in some aspects of English language skills until formal English instruction is introduced, immersion students soon catch up and even surpass children in regular programs, suggesting, he said, that considerable transfer takes place from French to English. He showed that early total immersion students "approach native-like proficiency in French listening comprehension and reading skills, although they are still clearly distinguishable from native Francophones in speaking and writing skills" (p. 3). Lapkin and Swain (1984) added however, that the French language skills of immersion students were assessed "favorably" by Francophone adults and children alike. In looking at subject areas other than English or French, Cummins related that students in early immersion programs compared favorably with students in regular curriculums in their ability to master subjects such as math and science. Early research indicated as well, that children experienced no important emotional or social problems adjusting to this new educational experience. And while they remained firmly rooted in their Anglophone identity, their attitudes towards Francophones were found to be much more positive than those of children in regular programs (Lapkin and Swain, 1984).

In conclusion, the bulk of research conducted in the decade following the implementation of immersion in the school systems, was in fact, able to reassure all concerned that students in immersion (especially early immersion) could indeed

become functionally bilingual with no long term negative effects on first language development or academic achievement.

In the ensuing years, several concerns have surfaced concerning both the methodology and findings of French immersion research. As more studies became available from a variety of sources across the country, problems, inconsistencies, and conflicting results became apparent. One critique by Bibeau (1984) pointed out that immersion had no solid theoretical base and therefore research should have been conducted before such programs were implemented in the first place. He was likewise critical of the basic research design which he said really only compared academic skills of students in both programs and not overall language development. Objecting to the time, expense and outside imposition of such studies, he felt that immersion was not the answer because, as he stated: "We have no significant data on teaching methods or materials, teachers and their relations with children . . . what happens in the classroom and so on"(p.46).

Harley (1984), in her study of the development of French language skills, concluded that immersion students' "superb" receptive skills (listening and reading comprehension) simply reflected the emphasis of schooling where listening to the teacher and reading texts are the principal activities in learning a subject matter. She stressed the importance of developing "productive" skills through interaction with more native speakers.

In his reflections on a decade of French Immersion, Carey (1984) also questioned the design of immersion research which he felt was one of "necessity" not "choice" given the clientele and the nature of the research questions. Recognizing that certain key variables like student selection and parent-teacher

attitude characterized immersion programs, he cautioned against comparing results of such programs with those of programs where such factors did not exist. He also maintained that there are very few studies that document what actually happens in an immersion classroom and how the teacher's role contributed within that context.

Referring once again to Genesee's review of immersion education, he described two interesting studies (Genesee, 1981; Adiv, 1981, cited in Genesee, 1987) which examined the variables of time and amount of exposure in the development of proficiency in French language skills. Comparison of early immersion and "two-year" late immersion students over four consecutive years failed to find any measurably significant differences in levels of language proficiency. While similar studies (Morrison, 1981, cited in Genesee, 1987) yielded different results, the evidence of these studies suggested that less time and exposure are needed by older learners who, because of cognitive advantages, learn more quickly than younger children. But, at the same time, said Genesee, the nature of the learning environment in early immersion itself is also probably an important factor. There may be a finite set of language skills required to function in an immersion program, he reported, and if linguistic and communicative needs are not progressively expanded, students may, in fact, reach a plateau in second language learning around grade 3 (Adiv, 1980, cited in Genesee, 1987). Conflicting results, notwithstanding, the evidence of these studies points to the realization that there is surprisingly little systematic, objective data on the nature of communication in early immersion classes (Genesee, 1987). Nothing is known about the communicative behaviors used or needed in immersion classes at different grade levels. His recommendation stated:

> . . . what is needed are detailed investigations of the language learning environment of immersion classes, including a focus on the language teacher and his/her language behaviors and on the linguistic characteristics of pedagogical materials. Such studies are needed in order to determine what kinds of functional communication demands are being made on the language learner. To date, most immersion research has focused on the language learner. Clearly however,language learning is an interactive process. (p. 60)

This overview of research in French immersion reveals that specific socio-cultural factors shaped the dominant methodology and influenced its findings. Focusing on program and student evaluation, the experimental research design attempted to correlate different learner characteristics or some aspect of classroom performance with student achievement. Serious drawbacks became evident, over time, as the studies bypassed important factors like classroom observation and the effects of instruction. There is a pressing need now for the field of French immersion research to redefine its goals and expand its definition with a view to broadening its understanding of the complexities of second language teaching and learning. In a "call for new perspectives"Tardif and Weber (1987) suggest that an adoption of related and pertinent research orientations might offer fresh ideas and new directions in the area of French immersion research.

Language Research Perspectives

Second Language Research

Most of the L2 research that paralleled immersion studies in the 1960's and early 1970's was conducted in natural settings and reflected the dominant first language theories popular at that time. Taking their cue from Chomsky (1965), investigations concentrated on syntax, linguistic stages, innate mechanisms, etc. and their role in L2 development. Dulay and Burt (1974) expanded on Chomsky's notion of a language acquisition device by defining a process they termed "the creative construction process." Boyd (1975) confirmed that there seemed to be universal sequences of development in L2 learning, that L2 learners exhibited linguistic stages similar to those of native speakers, and that the strategies of L2 learning "may be fundamentally the same as those of first language acquisition since the systematic errors made by all language learners are similar" (Boyd, 1975, p. 126). As these first language theories evolved to encompass the role of semantics and context, second language researchers like McLaughlin (1982) followed suit by examining ideas such as how children applied formulaic expressions to different contexts enabling them to "speak" before really knowing the target language. The naturalistic second language research of this period borrowed heavily from the prevalent first language theories of the time and often tried to show the direct influence of first language development on second language acquisition.

Classroom Centered Research:

In the last several years the classroom has become a primary centre for second language research. Programs as diverse as ESL, (English as a second language) FSL, (French as a second language), bilingual education, and immersion are now studied within the context of the classroom. According to Allwright (1983) classroom centered research is a method of inquiry that directly observes the classroom processes which underlie methods and techniques, generates rather than tests hypotheses, and describes rather than prescribes. Gaies (1983) related that early classroom centered research concentrated primarily on linguistic characteristics of teacher input and its effects on language comprehension. He cited studies (Gaies, 1977; Chaudron,1979) that supported this notion and further studies (Hamayan & Tucker, 1980) that extended this research to outline the effects of input on learners' production. Later it became apparent that input variables formed only part of a larger process of interaction. Through the use of modified versions of interaction analysis instruments (Flanders, 1970, cited in Gaies, 1983) researchers began to correlate a variety of patterns of participation to second language achievement (Sato, 1981; Schinke-Llano, 1983, cited in Gaies, 1983). Classroom centered research was committed to the idea that investigation of classroom processes was central to an understanding of how language was acquired. Interaction was eventually regarded as a key component. As Long (1983) pointed out ,however, such research continued to be of the input-output variety and correlational in nature. Interaction analysis systems were found wanting as an effective tool to examine patterns of interaction. The instruments delineated easily observable and coded behaviours but focused heavily on what the

teacher said and did, assuming that teachers controlled and changed interaction patterns if they became aware of them. Such interactional analytical systems also completely ignored aspects of non verbal communication, according to Long. In contrast, subsequent research (Mehan, 1974) has shown that teachers and students together actually negotiate the shape and direction of patterns of communication within an interaction.

Second Language Research: An Interactional Approach

Building upon research done in first and second language development in naturalistic settings, Ellis (1984) focussed on the nature of interaction and described how an interactional approach could foster second language development in the classroom. He defined language acquisition as a two part process of input/interaction. Across first and second language development in naturalistic settings as well as in the classroom, "input" is that special kind of language that adjusts itself to meet the special needs of learners. Input in the form of "caretaker speech," "foreigner talk," and "teacher talk" share common characteristics of modification of elements like length of utterance, choice of topic, prosody, use of modeling, repetition, clarification, expansion strategies, etc., all of which facilitate communication when the learners' linguistic competence is limited. Ellis proceeded to show however, that modification of input is but one side of the coin. Backed by a body of supporting literature in first language development (Wells, 1979; Wells & Robinson, 1982) and second language development in naturalistic and classroom settings (Hatch, 1978) he demonstrated that learners also employ a set of what he calls conscious or potentially conscious problem oriented "communication

strategies" in their initial attempts to understand and sustain discourse. It is an examination of these joint strategies in operation rather than just modification of input strategies which is important, said Ellis.

> When there is a communicative problem the solution is not sought separately by the native-speaker modifying the formal and discourse characteristics of his speech or by the learner resorting to communicative strategies. It is sought jointly by the native-speaker and learner working together to establish and maintain a mutually acceptable topic. What is important, therefore, is the "negotiation of meaning."
>
> (p. 91)

Through this process of negotiation of meaning the participants collectively and collaboratively "combine their forces" and define for themselves an effective strategy which modifies and eventually expands interaction. According to Ellis (1984) it is interactional adjustments rather than formal language and discourse adjustments that result in optimal development.

In his discussion of classroom second language learning, Ellis examined the role of "teacher talk" and showed how such input should both reflect and expand the learners' L2 development. In reference to Krashen (1983), he indicated that input should be roughly suited to the level of comprehension the learners have reached but that it should also contain some elements of the next stage of learning so as to challenge learners to move ahead in their development. To facilitate comprehension, such input should be geared to the"here and now" and make use of the extra-linguistic context. One type of input that Ellis identified as particularly conducive to language growth in a classroom context is organizational language.

The classroom provides its own rationale for negotiating about materials, routine business, task fulfillment, etc. This negotiation is supported by the teacher's use of "directives" or those imperatives that focus and direct classroom activity. This type of organizational language as input fosters language growth because it refers to the here and now, it appears in frequently occurring contexts, it is repetitive in nature, and it does not require a verbal response as a part of communication. Ellis contended that input must evolve from a wide variety of interactions (of which language for organization is but one) that stress communication for social, educational, and transactional purposes.

In summary, Ellis outlined the evidence of research in first and second language development that promotes an interactive approach to second language learning in a naturalistic setting with a view to promoting such an approach in L2 classrooms. He emphasized that both the speaker and learner collaboratively shape the linguistic environment and he identified negotiation of meaning as a joint interactional strategy that can facilitate and accelerate second language development. Believing that L2 classroom "teacher talk" or input is context-dependent, he also stated that it must evolve from a variety of types of classroom interaction in order to optimize L2 comprehension and subsequent production.

Other L2 researchers as well, have continued to recognize the vital role of interaction processes in the second language classroom. In her comments on language learning in social context, Wong-Fillmore (1989) highlighted the fact that both the speaker and the learner create and shape the social setting in which it becomes possible and attractive to communicate in the target language. The

linguistic data supplied by the speaker is anchored in the social setting supplied by both to form "input." As language is observed by learners they play an active role.

> The learners play a role in getting speakers to adjust their speech when they try to understand what the speakers are saying, and when they try to respond. In so doing, they let the speakers know whether or not the adjustments they are making are necessary or adequate. If they seem not to understand, the speakers are likely to make further adjustments. When they appear to understand, the speakers tend to carry on, or to adjust their speech upward. (p. 281)

Wong-Fillmore reiterated what has been said by both Ellis and Krashen, pointing out that learners collaborate with speakers in a joint effort to let speakers know when interactional adjustments are satisfactory and when it is time in fact, to expand to a higher level. More recently, research conducted by Weber and Tardif (1987) has led them to believe that negotiation of meaning is fundamental to the interaction process; that it is, in fact a "meta-strategy" and that a number of similarly related strategies can really be viewed as variations or subcategories of ways to negotiate meaning.

> Negotiation of meaning involves interaction, actively giving feedback on what has been understood and seeking additional information, clues, or feedback to confirm this understanding. In addition, the negotiation of meaning in a sense involves a power struggle for control of meaning and for direction of the agenda. . . . In the classroom context, the individual's negotiation of meaning is often interconnected with a group strategy such as guessing. (Weber & Tardif, 1987, pp. 9,10)

A final look at Genesee's summary of immersion education reveals that the only investigations of an interactional basis of second language learning in French immersion research were conducted by Cleghorn (1985, cited in Genesee, 1987) and Weber & Tardif (1987). The realization, however, that it is precisely the quality of teacher-student interaction that determines the effectiveness of immersion programs prompted Genesee to submit that an interactive evaluation approach merits due consideration. From the limited research, Genesee speculated that the general instructional style of immersion could be characterized in terms of negotiation of meaning which he defined this way:

> Negotiation of meaning involves a set of interaction strategies that promotes . . . the learner's comprehension of what the teacher is intending to mean, what the situation means, and therefore what the language means and how it works. (p. 180)

While he hastened to agree with the interactive goals of second language research as just outlined in terms of comprehension and production, his perception of negotiation of meaning was narrower in scope. He spoke only of negotiation as serving academic achievement through the provision of academic content, which becomes the substance and reason for negotiation. Ellis' profile of varied types of interaction and the meta-strategy concept outlined by Weber and Tardif suggest an inherently broader and more useful definition of negotiation of meaning.

Genesee lamented the fact that there is a great lack of information concerning the pedagogical and linguistic strategies used by immersion teachers. To remedy the situation he called for a program of research that emphasizes "characteristics of social interaction that are thought to facilitate acquisition of

decontextualized skills and specifically literacy-related skills" (p.185). In particular, he mentioned (among others) "scaffolding" by Bruner as one way of focusing research centering on interaction patterns. Such an orientation could provide valuable insights into how teachers integrate academic and language instruction in immersion programs he believed.

The Scaffolding Process

For those researchers like Jerome Bruner who espoused a social, cognitive model of language development, the "scaffolding" process became an important way to better understand key concepts related to language in social interaction. Inspired by the seminal theories of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1972,1978), Bruner grounded his studies of language in Vygotsky's concept of the "zone of proximal development."

"It is the distance between the [child's] actual developmental level and the level of potential development as determined by independent problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86).

From his observations of language and problem solving tasks in interactions between adult tutors and children (1976), Bruner expanded Vygotsky's definition by identifying salient characteristics of this adult guidance or "scaffolding" as he termed it. He defined scaffolding as the special role the adult plays in an interactive "instructional" situation. In structuring an unfamiliar task the adult tutor "controls" difficult aspects of the task thus permitting the child to successfully complete those elements within his/her range of competence. This joint combining of efforts

allows the task to proceed to a successful conclusion. Referring to another of Vygotsky's famous maxims,"what the child can do in co-operation today he can do alone tomorrow" (Vygotsky, 1972) the underlying assumption is that this adult assistance allows the child to comprehend the task more quickly than if assistance had not been provided. Even more importantly, this assistance is said to promote future task competence. The variable of comprehension is critical according to Bruner. Only when a child understands the solution to a problem is he/she able to produce steps leading to its solution. In other words comprehension precedes production. In the scaffolding interaction ,the child indicates comprehension through performance and the child's performance, in turn, assures the tutor that comprehension is evident and thus the task can move forward to successful completion. In addition, subsequent research by people like Wells (1979) advanced the idea of problem solving as the subtle interplay between comprehension and production with production playing an active role in the fostering and furthering of comprehension. This view proposed that learner and tutor are active partners in the scaffolding process. Bruner has identified six functions which form the nucleus of the scaffolding process:

1. Recruitment: enlisting the child's interest in the purpose and material of the activity.
2. Reduction: simplifying the task to components the child can complete successfully.
3. Direction: maintaining motivation and the direction of the task.

4. Relevant: accentuating relevant features and focusing attention features on the important discrepancies between the child's actions and the necessary process.

5. Supporting: providing help whenever necessary to reduce stress.

6. Modeling: demonstrating tasks. Assuming the child will imitate tutor in some appropriate way. (Bruner, 1975)

As applied to child language learning, Bruner's concept of scaffolding is called "Language Acquisition Support System" (LASS) (Bruner,1983). In this instance, linguistic and motivational support is provided by a more experienced speaker to help the young child formulate language. This support gradually adjusts itself in terms of form and degree as the inexperienced child becomes more independently fluent.

Courtney Cazden (1981) made interesting use of the principles of Vygotsky and Bruner in her studies of language use in the context of classroom social interaction. Applying Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development" she looked at teacher-student dialogue and concluded that "the assisted performance is not just performance without competence but performance before competence - that the assisted performance does indeed contribute to subsequent development" (Cazden, 1981, p.7). Her description of "peek-a-boo" activities (1983) provided her with a basis for applying Bruner's theory of "scaffolding." She found that within these games, the scaffolding activities of the home actually provided a child with a solid base for learning the scaffolding patterns of the classroom. A further study of nursery rituals reported that "raising the ante" or using increasingly complex and challenging language in "tutorial dyads" enabled the child to later recognize the

prominent features of teacher discourse. One interesting comment Cazden made about scaffolding was that it should ideally "self-destruct" as needs lessen and redefine its structure to meet the demands of increasingly elaborate requirements.

Although Cazden made an enormous contribution to a greater understanding of classroom discourse she described an urgent need"...for more analyses of assistance to children's learning of discourse - of the kinds of scaffolds, models, and direct instruction that children are provided" (Cazden, 1983, p. 49).

In a study of communicative competence in kindergarten, Helen Ilott (1987) applied the evidence of a tutoring experience against Bruner's six functions of scaffolding and discovered significant variations. Several functions co-occurred suggesting that the list be broadened to include both purposes and strategies. Categories were added or rounded out with sub-groupings as the data seemed to demand it. One additional characteristic "adult effort" provided further insight into the role of the tutor in the scaffolding process. Specifically, the amount of effort produced by the tutor to achieve a desired response from the child is proportional to the child's resistance to respond. The tutor has a sense of commitment to helping the child comprehend the task at hand and expends whatever effort is necessary to see that this is accomplished. As Ilott pointed out however, the tutoring design of her study introduced incrementally more difficult tasks as opposed to Bruner's single task and this probably accounted for the diversification of her findings.

What the evidence of these foregoing studies demonstrates is the validity of applying Bruner's model of scaffolding in different educational contexts. Just as Cazden and Ilott adapted the process to answer important questions about communicative competence in classroom settings, evidence from a second language

study set against Bruner's model might reveal important characteristics of scaffolding which are relevant to the French immersion experience of classroom interaction.

Paralanguage

As noted by Bruner (1987), there is more to communicating meaning than a consideration of content alone. Language is embedded in its unique situational, cultural context. Making sense of this context requires a wide range of cues. By way of elucidation, Bruner explained that the interpretation of the communicative context relies heavily on "*illocutionary*" features and/or gestures and movements of the speaker that not only direct attention to the particular context but give information about the degree of importance of what is being said. This reliance on non verbal cues is largely taken for granted, he said, but its importance should not be underestimated as it is this type of information that permits children to engage in communicative activities that would otherwise be beyond their range of understanding.

A growing realization that non verbal or "paralanguage" features of language were inextricably linked to verbal expression, led linguists to consider these nonverbal aspects more carefully (Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967, cited in Pennycook, 1985). The definition of paralanguage has continued to evolve since it was first coined by George Trager (1958). Trager's early interpretation described paralanguage as a verbal feature distinguishable from the specifically non verbal behaviors of kinesics and proxemics, which were being studied separately at the time (Hall, 1966). Over the years "paralanguage" has come to encompass a broader

definition that includes "paraverbal", kinesic, and proxemic aspects (Pennycook, 1985). Specifically defined, paraverbal elements include the following: degree of intensity, rate and pitch of non-lexical items, the use of "non words" occurring in the standard language system, and the role of silence. Kinesic elements incorporate the broad domain of facial expression, posture, and bodily movement and are similarly measured in terms of pitch, stress, and intensity as well as duration of movement. The particularities of touching behavior and social distance constitute the field of proxemics.

Several paralinguistic, kinesic, and proxemic characteristics of first language non verbal behavior have been extensively studied and their relationship to meaning and culture, well documented (Birdwhistell, 1952; Key, 1975). Harris(1972) advocated the study of paralanguage in the classroom.

> By observing the interactive patterning of the paralanguage of teachers and students, we may be able to shed important new light on the learning process.... as well as help objectify the elusive notion of the "effective teacher." (Harris, 1972, p. 9)

On the other hand, very little of this type of research has been undertaken in the field of second language research. A retrospective glance at the literature reviewed so far indicates a reference by Ellis to the context dependent nature of language learning with no specific mention made of paralanguage features of language and only a cursory comment by Genesee (1987) that teachers need to be sensitive to non verbal feedback from students. Wong-Fillmore (1989) said that learners have special "resources" that help them "discover what people are saying," chief among which is a language already in place that allows them to make

assumptions and guesses about how a second language might work. Nowhere did she even hint at the fact that paralanguage cues might facilitate the language learning process.

Some L2 research has studied paralanguage aspects and one study (von Raffler- Engel, 1976) found that kinesics is more closely associated with culture than with language. She also argued that language and paralanguage must be observed in concert within the context of socialization in order to truly understand the nature of the language acquisition process. Pennycook (1985) considered paralanguage features in an L2 classroom situation and concluded that it was incumbent upon teachers to not only exploit the use of the paralinguistic signals they are always unconsciously sending but to actively teach some aspects of paralanguage to students. Like Ellis, he favored an interactive classroom structure which he claimed would intrinsically encourage and encompass paralanguage features within its system.

One recent study (Weber & Tardif, 1987) proposed that paralanguage features (employed by the teacher) contributed to the unfolding of meaning within the context of a French immersion situation. "There is a 'scaffolding of meaning' that is constructed around the language situation by using such clues as gestures, body movement, intonation . . ." (Weber & Tardif, 1987 , p. 16). They also concluded that "attending to the paralanguage elements of human communication is one of the most striking features of immersion classroom sense-making" (Weber & Tardif, 1987, p.13).

It is evident from the preceding discussion that "paralanguage" should figure prominently in any discussion of the construction of meaning and the context

of culture in human communication. The process of scaffolding facilitates this construction of meaning for the child in an instructional interaction by embedding language in paralanguage forms that allow meaning to be understood before actual words are. It follows from this that any investigation of scaffolding should consider not only verbal aspects but those essential paraverbal elements as well.

Summary

In a review of the first and second language research perspectives presented so far, several elements converge to describe an interactive perspective of second language development. After L2 research began to center on the classroom, a first major consideration was the effect of "input." It gradually became obvious that input was only part of a broader system of interaction. As defined by Ellis and others language acquisition involves an interaction between the learner who employs certain "communication strategies" and the speaker who modifies input. This partnership goes beyond a simple response to input, however; the adult and child jointly develop a collaborative strategy that allows them to "negotiate meaning" within the interaction thereby facilitating and accelerating language development. Negotiation takes place as the adult "scaffolds" verbal meaning (initially in non verbal forms) to permit the child's greater comprehension. The learner is an active partner in this scaffolding process and it is his/her responses that guide the process which changes its form and function as the needs of the learner dictate.

Both language and educational researchers have long maintained that non verbal behaviors are integrally tied to human communication. Investigation in this area has found that non verbal behaviors are closely associated with cultural and

situational concerns of language. Other research has devised ways to investigate non verbal behavior by breaking it down into discrete categories. There is a paucity of this kind of inquiry in the field of second language development, especially in immersion research. It was the contention of this study that an investigation of language and especially paralanguage within the scaffolding process of a French Immersion Kindergarten would illuminate important features of second language development in social interaction.

Research Methodology Perspectives

Another goal of this literature review is to present alternative methodological perspectives that might better address issues related to an interaction model of L2 immersion research.

As previously stated, the governing research methodology chosen to evaluate immersion programs has been limited by socio-political motives to ensure everyone involved that such programs did not impede first language development or scholastic achievement. The programs' continued success suggests that such a research goal has become less useful; more pressing concerns now deserve attention.

In their paper calling for new perspectives in French Immersion research, Tardif and Weber(1987) indicated that a quantitative, experimental research design overlooked the important dimension of meaning in human behavior and failed to answer demanding questions about the complexities of classroom life. Believing these matters to be crucial in French immersion research, they argued that more

qualitative approaches, and in particular, ethnographic approaches would satisfy this need.

Ethnographic Research

In the past two decades the rise of interest in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974), has greatly influenced the field of educational research and has led to the definition of the classroom as a "subculture" with rule governed patterns of communication that distinguish it from other cultures (Mehan, 1979; Wilkinson,1982). Such research has also revealed the importance of the cultural context in determining how meaning is constructed through an active collaboration of teacher and student in classroom interaction (Delamont, 1983).

Although few in number, some second language research studies have slowly begun to apply an ethnographic perspective in their research. In his interesting article, Long (1983) described various anthropological approaches to L2 inquiry that came about partly as a reaction against the limitations of interaction analysis and partly in response to the successful use of unstructured observation in many other disciplines. He outlined participant and non participant observation as being ethnographic forms suitable for L2 classroom research. He cited the best known example of L2 participant observation as the "diary studies" (e.g.Schumann & Schumann,1977, cited in Long, 1983) noting that such self studies shed light on many personal variables in second language learning. Recently other studies of the non participant variety have included one that looked at language use patterns in a Spanish bilingual setting (Bruck & Schultz, 1977) and another that reported findings related to the culture of French Immersion kindergarten and how young

children come to make sense of their first experience of second language learning in this setting (Weber& Tardif, 1987).

Ethnographic research includes a wide variety of qualitative and descriptive types of research which are particularly appropriate for studying classroom processes because inherent in their nature is a concern for interaction in social context. The methodology involves an in-depth study of a limited setting with a view to revealing both explicit and implicit natural behaviors that contribute to an interpretation of the setting. From prolonged and repetitive observation and analysis of live data ethnography provides detailed, accurate descriptions and makes inferences about the phenomena in question. Its emphasis is on a small sample, however, and questions arise as to the generalizability of ethnographic studies. In response to such concerns, ethnographers feel that amassing detailed information about one setting is in some ways superior to methods that collect superficial and perhaps misleading information about relationships in many different settings. Also as Spindler (1982) states, "an in-depth study that gives accurate knowledge of one setting not markedly dissimilar from other relevant settings is likely to be generalizable in substantial degree to these other settings"(p. 8). The findings of ethnographic inquiry will often be generalizable logically if not statistically.

Constitutive Ethnography

This researcher employs an ethnographic approach developed and labelled by Hugh Mehan (1979) as "constitutive ethnography" which he felt gave more satisfactory answers to the often legitimate concerns of generalizability. In collaboration with Courtney Cazden (in her classroom), Mehan employed his

particular methods to examine the social organization of interaction in an elementary school classroom with a special emphasis on language. Extensive analysis of videotapes extracted a corpus of data that looked at one "speech event" - teacher-led lessons. The structure of the lessons and the interactional activities of the teacher and students who assembled these lessons are described in detail in Mehan's book, Learning Lessons. This ground-breaking ethnographic study furnished valuable new insights into the communication patterns of the classroom. What is of specific interest here though, are the techniques Mehan utilized to derive principles from the extensive data collected over the period of a school year. Guided by the ethnographic policy that all data must be incorporated in the analysis, Mehan defined his process:

> The method begins with a small bunch of data. A provisional scheme is generated. The scheme is then compared to other data and modifications are made in the scheme as necessary. The provisional analytic scheme is constantly confronted by "negative" or "discrepant" cases until the researcher has derived a small set of recursive rules that incorporate all the data in the corpus. The result is an integrated, precise model that comprehensively describes a specific phenomena instead of a simple correlational statement about antecedent and consequent conditions. (Mehan, 1979, p. 21)

After completion of their project, Cazden noted in the foreword to Mehan's book, that it would now be advantageous to classroom research to seek commonalities across different classrooms. Taking this into the second language classroom context it was thought an application of Mehan's methodology might

prove a useful exercise in beginning an exploratory search for answers to urgent L2 social/language concerns.

Teacher as Researcher

> "It is the teachers, who in the end will change the world of school by understanding it." (Lawrence Stenhouse)

There has been of late, a rise of interest in a form of classroom research that employs the teacher as principal investigator (Nixon, 1980; Connelly & Ben-Peretz, 1980; Hustler & Cuff, 1986). Labels such as "teacher as learner" 'teacher/researcher" "action research" are various ways of identifying attempts to personalize research. Just as students are now viewed as active contributors to the learning process, so too teachers are being encouraged to contribute to the wider field of educational research. No longer perceived as "consumers" of research, teachers are now seeking to become their own "experts" (Dillon, 1985) employing research in the unique context of their classroom as a means of effecting meaningful, beneficial change. With a sincere desire to learn, teachers "make explicit "acts of teaching and by questioning and reflection come to understand the underlying assumptions and procedures that guide the operation of their particular classroom. Ideally, says James Britton (1972), research, teaching, and professional development are an interactive process that encourages the "coming to know" of research to develop into active "doing." This concept of action is echoed by Stenhouse (1975) who believed, as long as twenty years ago, that personal research involvement by teachers should be at the heart of the educational process. He felt that the classroom was the ideal place to generate educational theory and

cultivate in teachers that critical condition of "understanding" that would allow them to more readily pursue necessary changes in teaching practices.

This type of research reflects the spirit of ethnography because it is designed to get at hidden meanings, and assumptions about roles, rules, etc. This socio-cultural knowledge that guides the behavior of classroom participants is key to the process of understanding and effecting change. Given the proper research tools teachers, who after all know better than anyone what goes on within the walls of the classroom, make ideal ethnographers!

The French Immersion Kindergarten

The entry point for children in immersion programs is generally the kindergarten year. Although a few studies have discussed second language concerns in a kindergarten setting (Kleifgen, 1985; Saville-Troike, 1985; Wong-Fillmore,1985) only one major study (Weber & Tardif, in press) has examined in depth the nature of a French Immersion Kindergarten experience. That kindergarten has never been a major focus of French immersion research may be due to the fact that there is no traditional academic content as such to use for comparison and evaluation purposes. The kindergarten setting is a good example of a natural classroom second language setting as described by Ellis however, and qualitative research approaches are particularly appropriate when examining children's experiences over a long period of time (Bruck & Schultz, 1977).

Songs in the French Immersion Kindergarten

A number of kindergarten activities are conducted and directed through the medium of a special form of language - songs. Music, "that universal language," has long been recognized as a valuable pedagogical tool for the achievement of second language goals (Parker, 1969; Techmeier, 1969). In her description of songs as "speech acts" Gatti-Taylor (1980) relates that the rhythmic and tonal qualities of music enhance compact, formalized, and simplified L2 structures allowing for easier assimilation. Songs permit frequent repetition of language structures unfettered by the usual boredom that drill implies and, aided by visual materials, contextualizes language and promotes further understanding of the L2 culture (Jolly, 1975). That songs generally constitute children's first attempts to use the target language is tribute to their great ability to motivate children to want to understand and use language in concrete ways. In this study, the teacher's use of songs was a dominant, multi-purpose strategy used to promoteboth language development and classroom cultural goals. Consequently it was considered worthy of special consideration in the discussion.

Summary

To summarize, the dominant French immersion research methodology has been used to answer specific questions out of necessity, not choice. Different questions revolving around the complexities of meaning in cultural context are now emerging and demand a new methodological approach. It is suggested that an interdisciplinary, ethnographic perspective is particularly appropriate to address these concerns. An outgrowth of educational ethnography has been the

participation of teachers as researchers in their own classrooms. They seem especially well suited to the task of uncovering the hidden sociocultural meaning of their unique classroom contexts and are being encouraged to use this "understanding" to effect change. Studying young children is well served by a qualitative research approach, which examines children's experiences in a natural setting.

Rationale for the Study

The total research "picture" that emerges from this literature review reveals that French Immersion research has yet to reach its full potential as a force in the general field of second language research. Hemmed in by political pressures, it did not seek to answer questions beyond the dictates of its narrow mandate. Other more urgent questions of language and culture now demand to be answered and a look at other research perspectives provides a point of departure.

Beginning in a purely Chomskian mode, second language research concerns have expanded from a simple consideration of teacher input to an examination of how meaning is structured and negotiated by the participants within the cultural context of the classroom. Research methodologies have evolved to effectively deal with these issues as the strictly quantitative experimental designs have given way to a process approach that employs methods like interaction analysis and procedures borrowed from anthropology.

It is time for the field of Canadian French immersion inquiry to "catch up" to other areas of L2 research. Specifically, it is important to look at interaction processes in immersion classrooms. This study employs an ethnographic

methodology to examine patterns of social interaction within the "scaffolding" process in a French immersion kindergarten in the hope that such an investigation will shed light on salient features of interaction in the specific context of immersion. It is hoped that thisstudy will contribute towards a new perspective of French immersion research.

The design of the study is outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Life in a kindergarten classroom revolves around talk, and teachers of young children have traditionally oriented activities towards furthering their students' language development. In a French immersion kindergarten this goal is at once the same and yet different, with a second language (L2) superimposing itself onto the first. As the children are exposed to a wide variety of L2 oral language activities, it is evident that both teacher and students engage in a collective process of striving to make sense of this new language experience.

The purpose of the present enquiry was to describe and interpret this collective "scaffolding" process in a French immersion context in order to examine the construction of meaning by the participants in an initial second language learning situation. To achieve this goal, the researcher was involved in a self-study and chose as a method of analysis constitutive ethnography as defined and employed by Hugh Mehan. This method seemed especially appropriate because Mehan developed the methodology in order to examine classroom communication patterns in-depth. The data of this study are in the form of videotapes making it suitable for intensive analysis and satisfying Mehan's principle dictate that data should always be retrievable. The research question attempted to go beyond correlational concerns in order to probe more deeply into the teacher's patterns of communication.

Three major assumptions guided the analysis of the basic core of data. The first assumption was that paralanguage is an important function of the early stage of

second language learning (Weber & Tardif, 1987). Secondly, it seemed likely that both language and paralanguage strategies would change over time as children developed comprehension in the second language. A final assumption of the relationship between language and culture (von Raffler-Engel) identified the need to consider second language goals in relation to the specific roles of teacher and student in the classroom. These assumptions, along with information regarding existent scaffolding models, undergirded the analysis of the activities which made up the speech event of "circle time." This chapter will look at the particulars of the study design including a description of the sample and data collection and analysis procedures. It will consider the major research questions which attempt to identify (a) variables of a L2 scaffolding process, (b) whether some L2 variables are more important than others, and (c) if the nature of the variables changes over time.

The Sample

The sample consisted of the teacher and her class of four and five year old students who had English as their first language. Coming from middle and upper middle class backgrounds, the students could generally be characterized as socially and culturally privileged. They attended a half day French immersion kindergarten in a school situated in an older middle class district of Edmonton. The researcher for this study was the classroom teacher.

Data Collection

After permission was obtained from the parents, the teacher and the children were videotaped for the first hour of the school day once a week from the beginning

of September until the middle of May. The data were recorded on videotape and then transcribed into written form. Good colour reproduction and clear sound on the videotapes provided the minutiae of sound and motion for paralanguage analysis. For the purposes of this study, it was decided to consider the videotapes and transcripts of the first half hour of each kindergarten session because during that time the whole group and teacher were gathered together and the major emphasis was on student-teacher verbal interactions. During these "circle time" sessions children sat in a semi-circle on the carpet facing a large display board and also facing the teacher who alternately sat in a small chair or stood up and walked about in front of them. Some of the activities which took place during this time included calendar and weather routines, L2 oral language games, songs and rhymes, and planning of the day.

Preliminary Analysis

The recursive rules technique as interpreted by Mehan dictated the need to collect a representative sample of the entire data for analysis and coding. This preliminary analysis would generate a provisional scheme that would then be compared to other data and modified as necessary until a small set of rules incorporated all the data. The data for the initial analysis was chosen from the beginning, middle and end of the time period as follows

Beginning. Sept. 10, a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions Sept. 17, a.m and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions

Middle. Feb. 4, a.m and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions Feb.11, a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions

Year end. April 21 a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions May 15, a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions

Total: twelve tapes and transcriptions.

At this stage of the analysis, a considerable number of hours were spent viewing and reviewing the videotapes and examining the data from both the morning and afternoon classes in order to identify general categories and any differences in approach to the separate groups. Since no differences between groups were apparent, data for the two groups was pooled for analysis. The next step was to closely examine individual teacher utterances in the transcripts and repeatedly check them against the videotapes to describe the role of paralanguage. From this comprehensive search, frequently occurring verbal and non verbal behaviors were identified and placed into categories as an initial coding. The coding categories were then clearly defined and organized into a conditional scheme.

The conditional scheme was presented to an independent observer (a fluently bilingual, university professor, well versed in immersion techniques and language theory), who examined three tapes and transcriptions or 25% of the the sample. The observer tested the data against the coding categories to assure reliability of categories. Discussion with the external rater revealed major agreement along the coding categories. A subsequent joint examination of a sample of data revealed however, that specific variance between teacher/researcher and external observer could in fact, be attributed to the teacher/researcher's self-

knowledge and ability to recall pedagogical intent. As well, a certain ambiguity became evident as verbal, paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic behaviours often blended so completely as to render coding of distinct categories difficult. In the end, both rater and researcher agreed to allow evidence from self-knowledge and recall of purpose, acknowledging that analysis decisions were made through this "filter" of pedagogical intent. In order to clarify vague behaviour categories such as prosody, facial expression, and posture, it was decided that these would be coded when they appeared to be pedagogically significant. Most importantly, the observer agreed with the researcher that the proposed model accounted for all the data under study. With these modifications in mind, a secondary analysis took place following the discussion with the independent observer. The refined model was applied to yet another selection of kindergarten circle time activities. Three tapes and transcriptions were chosen from October, November, and May which at thirty minutes each provided for an additional six hours of viewing of both morning and afternoon groups. This served both to consolidate the evidence of the significant time periods and to confront any further discrepancies in the scheme. In this final analysis, categories were collapsed, redefined, and/or blended as necessary until all data was comfortably accounted for and a precise, integrated L2 scaffolding model was obtained.

In addition, three videotapes from October, February, and May (a.m. group only) were selected for special consideration of language and paralanguage behaviors. Each specific behaviour was isolated, viewed on the three tapes representing the time frame of early, middle, and year end and counted to determine frequency of occurrence. Any changes over time were noted. Paraverbal aspects

were coded 100% of the time, while kinesic and proxemic behaviours were coded when visible and when not visible were supported by the teacher's recall of what was taking place at the time.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed definition of the L2 scaffolding model and a discussion of findings.

Table 1

Process	Strategies			
	A.	B.	C.	D.
Control of complexity of L2	Language 1. modelling 2. expansion 3. direction of rituals and routines 4. encouragement	Paraverbal 1. non words 2. prosody 3. silence	Kinesic 1. gestures 2. facial exp.	Proxemic 1. touching 2. posture

Note: Definitions of Model Elements

A. LANGUAGE:

1. Modelling
   (a) Repetition of words, statements, questions, songs and rhymes often supported by visual materials
   (b) Repetition of formulaic statements, questions to reinforce
   (c) Echoing:correction of content errors made by children, correction of form of language and echoing of children's L1 statements back to them in L2.
2. Expansion
   (a) Words, statements, questions, songs to explain, clarify or reinforce one idea, often supported by visual materials.

(b) Statements, songs, questions to link ideas, often supported by visual materials.

(c) Questions or statements which invite the continuation of a verbal interaction.

3. Direction of rituals and routines

(a) Rituals:

(i) words, songs, and rhymes as beginning and finishing markers.

(ii) repetition of formulaic statements, questions, songs, and rhymes

(b) Routines(classroom management)

(i) words, songs, & rhymes as management markers.

(ii) command statements, request, invitation statements.

(iii) repetition of formulaic statements or questions to direct behavior.

(iv) correction of behavior errors.

(v) dialogue to organize surroundings.

(vi) organizational dialogue with other adults.

4. Encouragement

(a) Words and statements of agreement and/or acceptance in response to children's statements.

(b) Command statements, request, invitation statements

B. PARAVERBAL:

1. Non words

2. Prosody (aspects that are pedagogically significant)

(a) motherese

(b) exaggeration

(c) whispering

(d) making voice sound like a word (for lexical meaning)

(e) words drawn out for emphasis

3. Silence

(a) verbal cloze-expected response, choice of response.

C. KINESIC:

1. Gestures

(a) rolling, clapping, rubbing hands, hands clasped, hands to ear.

(b) placing index finger and thumb together (indicates preciseness).

(c) pointing index finger in the air, pointing to place,clicking fingers,

(d) sweeping motions using hands and arms (special emphasis markers)

(e) mimicking words & ideas using fingers, hands, arms and whole body

(f) pointing to child.

(g) shaking head in the affirmative or negative.

(h) picking up objects, holding up objects, showing objects, pointing to objects, moving objects, giving objects to child.

2. Facial Expression

(a) smiles

D. PROXEMIC:

1. Touching

(a) touching child(head, arm, shoulder) activity interrupted.

(b) touching or placing child without interrupting flow of activity.

(c) taking child by the hand or arm and guiding to another spot.

2. Posture

(a) bending over(half bend whole bend).

(b) sitting at child's level, crouching, turning body toward child.

(c) standing up, sitting down, walking around.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of this self study was to examine the patterns of communication in social interaction within the context of the second language learning situation in one French immersion kindergarten. In particular, emphasis was placed on the role of the teacher's input in "negotiation of meaning" and the effects of such input on the children's overall L2 development. An application of Bruner's concept of "scaffolding" by means of an ethnographic analysis uncovered variables of adult participation that were unique to this second language teaching/learning environment and resulted in the definition of an L2 scaffolding model. What follows is a detailed description of the model and a discussion of the major findings.

Numerous hours of analysis incorporating all of the data suggested a precise L2 scaffolding model with the dominant process being Control of Complexity of L2. Several teacher behaviors formed the basis of the coding categories; these were eventually defined as four major strategies which formed the nucleus of the process model. These strategies were labelled (a) language, (b) paraverbal, (c) kinesic, and (d) proxemic. The various elements which make up the model are now defined (see Table 1 and table notes). The pertinent teacher behaviours and strategies which led to formulation of the model will be discussed separately under the general headings of Language and Paralanguage. The second half of the discussion will provide an interpretation of the findings related to the important L2 scaffolding variables and

will attempt to show how the scaffolding process changed over time to meet the developing linguistic and cultural needs of the students.

Classroom Behavior and Strategies

Language

In this classroom, second language instruction tended to follow a natural progression of steadily increasing and advancing the level of conceptual development. Four important classifications of teacher behaviours seemed to exemplify typical language usage in this process: (a) modelling, (b) expansion, (c) direction, and (d) encouragement.

Modelling

During circle time the teacher/researcher modelled L2 principally through the strategies of repetition and echoing. Particularly important at the beginning of the year, repetition manifested itself in three major ways: word-object, language formulas, and songs. Word-object repetition was very evident, often supported by visual materials, e.g. "c'est rouge, je vois la couleur rouge içi, oui, comme mon crayon; ah un petit cœur rouge, c'est rouge, très bien (emphasis on color word rouge supported by pointing to objects of that color). The direct instruction and repetition of key formulaic statements and questions was also a noticeable strategy. These formulas were consistently modelled with the expectation that children would memorize and repeat them at appropriate moments ("òu veux-tu jouer? je veux jouer _____"). The use of songs as a repetition technique figured prominently in

the instructional repertoire of this particular teacher. In the early part of the year, key words, phrases, expressions, and language formulas were frequently repeated in the guise of songs. The addition of rhythm and melody was purposefully used to facilitate acquisition of language structures. Another noteable modelling strategy was that of "echoing" which differed from repetition in that it occurred in response to utterances from a child or the group. The three types of echoing observed were that of echoing a French statement in response to its English counterpart (e.g., C: "He's tired." P. " Il est très fatigué.") correction of form (e.g., C: "Pompier." P: " Pompier, non, papier, pas pompier.") and correction of content (e.g., C: " Sunny." P. " Non il ne fait pas soleil.")

Expansion

In this particular classroom as children developed their ability to comprehend the L2 of circle time, the teacher's facilitating strategies of repetition and echoing reinforced simple word-object concepts, statements, questions, and selected formulas. These slowly evolved to enlarge and link ideas and to stimulate longer verbal interactions.

As early as the first lesson, simple ideas were expanded for easier assimilation (e.g., animating an object, "Bonjour la colle"). In the ensuing months ideas were linked to enlarge a particular concept, as for example, in this discussion of the feast of St. Valentine's, " C'est le mois de février, on célèbre la fête de la St. Valentin, c'est le 14 février, la fête de la St. Valentin." The following excerpt of a shared story demonstrates actual dialogue resulting from response to children's input:

Child 1 : Why is Gedeon scared?

Prof: Oh de la noirceur, hé?

Child 2 : He was scared of the dark but the moon lights up the sky.

Prof: Oui, c'est ça, la lune a allumé le ciel. "Je n'ai plus peur," dit Gedeon.

Throughout the year as lesson periods became progressively longer, language concepts and forms were adjusted upwards to accommodate student needs. From short, staccato-like repetitions of simplified vocabulary, words and phrases matured into longer, more complex utterances. Certain previously discussed techniques acquired additional functions such as more variety being introduced into the formulaic structures (e.g., "Comment ça va aujourd'hui?, " "Est-ce que tu es content, triste, ou fâché aujourd'hui?"). A more complex vocabulary was presented in the songs with less repetition of structures and there was a definite attempt to enhance the cultural component of the target language through its songs. Questions were now directed at students with the expectation that they would be answered chorally or by a single child. Children's responses were actively solicited and assimilated into discussions and dialogues. A new technique of "cloze" was employed more frequently (i.e., the last part of sentences left off for children to fill in orally (e.g., c'est le dix _____ fill in the month). Rather than simply reinforcing a simple word, materials were now incorporated into scenarios in order to promote concept development (e.g., a language dialogue involving Bozo the puppet who has just returned from Hawaii; the children were invited by Bozo to ask him specific questions about his sojourn in Hawaii).

Direction of Rituals and Routines

The form, strategies, and purposes of the language of this classroom's rituals and routines will now be considered separately since their objectives were somewhat different.

Rituals. The major focus of oral language activity, in this kindergarten, occurred during "circle time." Within the parameters of circle time there were a number of speech acts, repeated daily in a sequential format and set off from the mainstream of language activity by the use of specific language patterns. These patterns incorporated beginning and finishing markers and repetition of formulaic structures often presented in the form of songs and strongly supported by visual materials and concrete objects. The main strategies are integrated in the following "weather ritual."

1. Beginning marker: "Les amis quel temps fait-il?", a song incorporating the major language structure. Children try out various responses (e.g. rainy, windy, to which the response was negative until the teacher finally directed the question "est-ce que c'est nuageux?")

2. Finishing marker: " Oui, c'est nuageux aujourd'hui. O.K."This is followed by a song introducing the next language segment.

Routines. The children's physical space was defined by the carpet where they were seated in horseshoe fashion facing the teacher and the display board. During the course of circle time activities children stood and moved about in various ways according to the directions of this teacher who controlled their movements by the use of request/command statements (e.g., asseyez-vous, poussez-vous), songs and rhymes (e.g., "on se li, on se lo, on se lève). The expected circle time

behaviour was to remain silent when the teacher was talking but to participate in songs and movement activities when indicated. Strategies employed to direct behaviour included the use of commands, manipulation of materials, and the use of songs and rhymes which contained management language (e.g., J'écoute Madame). Often this type of song, rhyme or command supported by visuals served to attract the children thereby redirecting their attention to the activity at hand. The circle time exercise always ended by directing some of the children to a task while sending others off to various free choice centre activities. After an explanation and actual modelling of the task was completed, children were required to respond to a certain formula (où veux-tu jouer? je veux jouer ------) before departing the circle. The data also uncovered a few instances of the teacher's use of organizational dialogue with other adults which involved a brief exchange to explain and/or organize pending activities.

Encouragement.

The language of encouragement was basically affective in nature. Words such as "très bien," "c'est ça", and "encore une fois" accompanied by an exuberant tone of voice and appropriate facial expression reassured children that their efforts were accepted. Children were often singled out for special attention by name and even a command of "chantez avec moi" encouraged children to participate.

Paralanguage

Within the context of this study, the role of non verbal communication served to situate L2 and provided added support for comprehension. Three teacher

behaviours seemed to reflect this supportive strategy: (a) paraverbal, (b) kinesic, and (c) proxemic behaviours.

Paraverbal

The three principal teacher behaviours in this grouping were: non word utterances, prosody, and silence. Since non word utterances comprised an important category, the analysis uncovered numerous examples of "filled pauses" (Key, 1975) consisting of a variety of non word sounds like "ah," "um," "eh," "oh oh," etc. The use of such non language features usually co-occurred with exaggerated facial expression and/or tone of voice and were often accompanied by related noises such as clapping hands or hitting objects to highlight what was being reinforced.

Another dominant paraverbal strategy revolved around five important teacher behaviours related to prosody. These features were: (a)"motherese" - the use of a high pitched voice commonly associated with mothers to soothe and encourage young children, (b) voice exaggeration - the use of variety in tone and pitch to overstate for emphasis, (c) whispering - the use of lowered pitch and tone of voice to understate for emphasis, (d) "words drawn out" - used for emphasis and as an aid to pronunciation (e.g., sep/tem/bre, au/jour/d'hui), and (e) making the voice sound like a word and often co-occurring with mimicry (e.g., "grand" said very loudly and accompanied by a large sweeping gesture).

Silence as a paraverbal behaviour was a much less frequent strategy and consisted of a form of verbal "cloze" whereby statements were deliberately left unfinished for children to complete (e.g., "c'est le mois de ---).

Kinesic

The data was rich in examples of kinesic behaviours encompassed primarily in a wide range of gestures as well as in a more limited display of facial expressions. Expressed through the use of head, fingers, hands, arms, and whole body movements, gestures were identified and integrated into two major behaviour patterns (a) teacher as model, and (b) teacher's relationship to pedagogical materials:

Teacher as model: Rolling, clapping, rubbing hands, hands clasped, hand to ear, placing index finger and thumb together (indicates preciseness), pointing index finger in the air, pointing to place, clicking fingers, sweeping motions using hands and arms (emphasis markers), mimicking words & ideas using fingers, hands, arms and whole body, pointing to child, shaking head in affirmative or negative

Teacher's relationship to pedagogical materials: Picking up objects, holding up objects, showing objects, pointing to objects, moving objects, giving objects to child

Language segments like rituals, songs, etc. were always accompanied by the same specialized body motions (e.g., gestures like hands sweeping downward to indicate leaves falling in a song about same).

All rituals, songs, and vocabulary development activities were manifested physically by the use of both concrete and visual materials (e.g., concrete objects like leaves, food items, and pictures of same, puppets, books, charts, etc.).

Another minor kinesic behaviour category was "facial expression" and in this study only "smiling" was significant enough to comment upon.

Proxemic

During circle time activities, the children were seated in a semi-circle, thus exposing a large open area between them and this teacher who stood in front of the display board. The two relevant proxemic behaviours (a) touching children, and (b) teacher posture occurred almost always simultaneously as for example, when the teacher bent over to take a child by the hand to guide him/her to another spot or when she walked around the circle touching children on the head, arm, shoulder, etc. often without interrupting the flow of the activity at hand.

Interpretation of the Data

An analysis of the structure of the scaffolding process in this French immersion kindergarten uncovered a complex interweaving of situationally embedded verbal and non verbal behaviors which determined and directed meaning within the scaffolding interaction. Further investigation revealed that the scaffolding process was not static and that, in fact, its nature evolved over time to accommodate students' developing needs. The following discussion will separately examine the two major elements of language and paralanguage, outlining the major findings related to each as well as showing how the nature of each changed in form and degree over time as meaning developed.

Language

In the French immersion kindergarten context, children receive their first exposure to both a new language and a new way of life. Direct teacher intervention is, therefore, crucial to ensuring maximum linguistic and cultural support. At the

heart of this intervention is the use of highly contextualized language with particular purposes and strategies in mind as in the reinforcing of rituals and routines for example. In this study, teacher input fulfilled the major objective of L2 development by introducing and reinforcing specific L2 content and by using organizational language to direct classroom activities. Various verbal strategies such as modelling, expansion, encouragement and direction were employed and enhanced by the use of visual materials. These strategies served to reinforce both L2 concepts and organizational imperatives. The findings related to scaffolding language will now be described in more detail with a consideration of language content and strategies of implementation as well as the nature of change over time.

Language Content:

The choice of topics presented over the course of the year disclosed three predominant areas of interest (a) themes which revolved around established kindergarten curriculum objectives such as discussions of family, seasons, holidays etc.; (b) discussions of specific interests related to children, (i.e. toys,t.v. shows); and (c) matters referring to school culture including its routines, tools, rituals, and expected behaviors. The purpose of this choice of content seemed to reflect the teacher's desire to simplify language by relating it to the child's personal experiences as well as to promote the traditional culture of kindergarten. Beyond this cultural contextualization, the language content enabled the teacher to organize the children within the framework of the physical surroundings and activities of the classroom. Throughout the year, the language agenda was primarily teacher

controlled with children increasingly allowed to contribute input as they became able to do so.

Language Scaffolding Strategies

An important consideration in the analysis of this data was the factor of change over time. As the examination progressed it became obvious that certain strategies became less important, some co-occurred or simply disappeared with others taking their place. As each strategy is described, change over time will be considered in terms of changes in adult effort, frequency, form, and participation of the children.

Modelling

Immersion instruction is predicated on the assumption that, provided with an adequate model, children will eventually come to develop comprehension and production skills in the second language (Lambert, 1972; Krashen, 1983). In the early stages of learning, the target language was modelled by this teacher as she introduced a small core of language and gradually built upon it. Frequent repetition of key words and phrases, and echoing of correct language reinforced ideas and helped children to become familiar with the vocabulary and structures of the new language. An important function of modelling was frequent repetition of songs, and of specific prefabricated language utterances or "formulas" whose meaning was derived from the structure as a "whole" rather than from any reference to its constituent parts. Early in the year, these songs, and formulaic structures meant

little to the children but they did constitute their first efforts to participate in the new language and came to have more meaning as time went by (internalization).

Within the general framework of modelling, the two techniques of repetition and echoing were the most important features of language scaffolding in this classroom. Particularly in the beginning, frequent repetition and echoing by the teacher strongly supported by concrete visual references drew attention to important aspects of L2 and reinforced language concepts. The actual physical effort of the teacher to convey language concepts was considerable while children's participation in the initial stages was passive and restricted to memorizing and mimicking words, phrases, and formulas as well as learning lots of songs. After Christmas, as the children's comprehension progressed, frequent repetition was no longer necessary and echoing changed to allow for more meaningful dialogue to occur between teacher and individual child/group.

Expansion

As children develop in their ability to understand, they are challenged to attain higher levels of development. Phrases, sentences, questions, and songs, often supported by visual materials, are repeated by teachers in a variety of ways which serve to explain or clarify one idea or to link several complementary ideas thereby enlarging the definition of specific concepts. By the use of pertinent questions and encouraging statements, teachers invite children to become more actively involved in verbal interactions and to extend their abilities. Analysis of the data of this study uncovered three major purposes of expansion: clarification of an idea, linking of similar ideas, and invitation to share dialogue. Even in the initial

stages of L2 learning, a deliberate effort was made to extend language concepts. Expansion strategies evolved over the year and became increasingly dependent on children's input as the primary source of meaning. Although expansion was initially teacher directed with little participation by the children, over the course of time, the tone of this teachers' language became much more natural. Less time was spent stressing the form of language and more time was devoted to responding to children's comments, statements and questions. There developed an expectation of participation to which individual children responded as they became able. The relationship shifted from one of teacher direction to one of teacher-student collaboration in the search for meaning.

Direction of Ritual and Routines

The kindergarten year provides children with their first experience of the unique culture of classroom life. In order to promote an understanding of this culture the teacher encourages consistency in program goals and behaviour expectations. The data in this study supported the view of Weber and Tardif (in press) that the "rituals and routines" of kindergarten simultaneously advanced cultural and second language goals through the use of a specific (directed) language.

Rituals. There are a number of rituals we have come to associate with kindergarten. Daily, groups of young students engage in a variety of "circle time" rituals like charting the day of the month or plotting weather on a graph. Such rituals stand apart from the stream of activities by the use of particular words, phrases, songs, and rhymes which begin and end them. The maintenance of rituals

which mainly surrounded the language of the greeting, weather, calendar, and seasons seemed to serve a dual purpose. The structures of the second language were specifically taught to reinforce traditional kindergarten rituals while the very existence of such rituals provided the need for such language to be taught in the first place. This points out the important fact that second language goals seemed to reflect cultural needs within this classroom. Throughout the year, rituals continued to be a very important feature of oral language activity in this program, retaining their outward form while changing within. Language structures adjusted upwards, as this teacher endeavored to provide a variety of ways of presenting a greeting formula or describing the weather or enlarging the concept of calendar time. As the concepts within rituals expanded so too did the children's participation. Over the course of the year they became much more physically involved, taking responsibility for the enactment of particular rituals, manipulating objects surrounding the ritual, and gradually internalizing the ritual through these activities.

Routines (Classroom Management). An important goal of teachers is to establish routines which will familiarize children with classroom activities and behavior expectations. Organizational language revolving around key phrases, songs, and rhymes as well as requests and commands are repeatedly used to reinforce specific practices. Children are taught short formulaic question-answer dialogues (où veux-tu jouer? je veux jouer.....) with the primary goal in mind of developing meaning through the use of routine structures. When misunderstandings occur, language is used to redirect the activities or the behavior of children. As well as organizing children's behavior, the teacher's use of language serves the function of organizing the physical surroundings and activities

both through discussion with children and with other adults who happen to be helping out at any given time.

While rituals seemed principally to reinforce traditional kindergarten oral language traditions, classroom management routines provided a vehicle for language growth in this French immersion kindergarten program through the management of physical space, child behaviours, and activity/task introduction. Organizational language changed its emphasis over the year as children became comfortable with physical space and expected behaviours. Language surrounding classroom management as such was simply taken for granted or reinforced when necessary. Similarly tasks gradually required shorter explanations. Formulas changed their form to extend concept development (e.g., où veux-tu jouer?= où est-ce que tu veux jouer?= où aimerais-tu jouer?) and replaced songs as the principal means of redirecting behavior (e.g., est-ce que vous êtes prêts? required the response, oui nous sommes prêts). The issue of control was now replaced by a focus on using language to organize more complex activities within circle time. For example, in a greeting game, children were given letter cards and asked to place themselves in order to spell out bonjour:

"H. tu es la lettre B, A. la letter O, J. la letter N, etc. OK est-ce que vous êtes prêts?"

More of a transactional approach was now evident as children and teacher worked together to complete various activities.

To summarize, the type of language used within the rituals and routines of this classroom simultaneously advanced both cultural and language goals, albeit, somewhat differently in each case. With the strong support of visual materials, the

language of rituals reinforced accepted kindergarten traditions. These rituals continued to be a vital component of circle time all year long differing only in attempts to extend language concepts and increase the participation of the children. The language of routines, both consciously and unconsciously, directed the children to a greater understanding of the expectations of general classroom life. Once children became comfortable with their role within the circle time activity, the issue of control was superseded by a focus on organization of more complex circle time activities and on transactions which attempted to ensure the smooth flow of one activity to another. The subtle interplay of language and culture promoted the internalization of both these dimensions. To hearken back to Ellis (1984), the important cultural dimensions within the classroom provided their own reasons for negotiating meaning. As comprehension grew, new definitions of the negotiation of meaning evolved to accommodate this growth and further developing needs.

Encouragement

Learning a new language is, at first, a puzzling experience for young children. Words of encouragement (e.g., bravo) permitted children to take risks and become actively involved in language learning. Principally supportive in nature, an interesting feature of this affective use of language was how it changed over time from a specific emphasis on bolstering self-esteem to one of encouraging and reinforcing second language development in particular. Initially, any sign of comprehension of L2 initiated by the children as well as any attempt at participation in 'circle time' activities was heartily encouraged by the teacher both verbally and paraverbally. Eventually, (within circle time activities), such paralanguage features

as a nod of the head or a simple smile met the basic needs of self-esteem while attempts to engage in dialogue,indicating a more thorough understanding of an idea, were enthusiastically reinforced and expanded (in this exchange, the teacher stimulates and encourages the children to extend language concepts by creating a language scenario involving a puppet geared specifically to their interests.)

Prof: " Et, on va voir qui est içi aujourd'hui!"

Child 1: " Bozo, Bozo is coming back today!"

Prof: " Oui, c'est le quatre février, Bozo va revenir, à la porte, toc, toc, toc."

Child 2: " Oh, goody, goody!"

(further on in the lesson, dialogue continues between ' Bozo' and the children)

Child 3: "Did you meet any.... baby dolphins?"

Bozo:"Non,____ je n'ai pas vu de petits dauphins."

Child 4: "Did you eat coconut?"

Bozo: " Oh oui! j'ai mangé beaucoup de noix de coco."

Child 5: "Did you play in the sand?"

Bozo: "Oui, j'ai joué..... et sais-tu quoi? C'est blanc, le sable a Hawaii."

This teacher encouraged children's language development by attempting to provide the satisfactory comfort level necessary for taking risks in the new language and by choosing language activities which were sure to appeal to young children. A more general enhancement of children's self-esteem in the beginning was later broadened to specifically reinforce language comprehension through expansion of their attempts to engage in extended dialogues.

Summary

The interpretation of data in this self-study of the communication patterns of a French immersion kindergarten disclosed the four significant language variables of modelling, expansion, direction, and encouragement. Modelling supplied the much needed exposure to the new language through repetition and echoing, while expansion strategies of clarification and linking of ideas encouraged children to reach for the next level of comprehension. The culture of kindergarten and classroom life as experienced in rituals and routines provided reasons for using language and the encouragement strategies created an atmosphere conducive to risk taking. Although each variable incorporated its own specific purposes and methods of implementation, it became obvious that they interdependently shared techniques such as use of songs, formulas, and pedagogical materials. It became apparent, as well, that as these strategies changed over time they all converged to achieve the common goal of extending language concepts through ever increasing participation of the children.

Paralanguage

Certain paralanguage aspects of communication played a vital role in second language learning in its early stages in this French immersion program. Often, a facial expression, body movement or tone of voice communicated an idea even when actual language was not yet fully understood. The supporting evidence of this study showed that paralanguage was a significant variable of the scaffolding process because it supported language by drawing attention to it, by helping to contextualize it and by providing a framework which allowed the children to

understand and participate before they actually understood L2. By its very nature, paralanguage is composed of multiple paraverbal, kinesic and proxemic behaviours that constantly co-occur, blend with and influence each other. For the purposes of this investigation only those "pedagogically" important paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic strategies will now be considered in detail. Each category will be considered separately with respect to its unique behaviors, their functions and their evolution over time. The variable of change over time will be considered in terms of frequency of occurrence, form and adult effort and child participation.

Paraverbal

This particular strategy appeared to play a supportive role by drawing attention to language and thereby reducing the complexity of L2. The predominant behaviors were (a) use of non words and (b) prosody.

Non words. Teachers often engage in a form of "vocal dawdling" or pausing filled with non words (e.g., ah, oh, ah ha) which allow time for new ideas to be absorbed or past ones reinforced. A powerful expression of ahh!! can confirm in childrens' minds that their guess was correct and an oh! oh! can challenge them to keep on trying as well as signal when behavior expectations are not quite being met.

It appeared that such non word utterances were used for four basic reasons: (a) collecting thoughts (e.g., "Eh bien, on va dire bonjour à quelques choses" as materials were being set up for use); (b) dealing with interruptions (e.g. "Oh! M. n'est pas prêt."); (c) holding the floor (e.g., "Oh! Oh! on chante, les amis."); and (d) drawing specific attention to features of L2 (e.g., "Et! oh! wow! regardez

qu'est-ce que j'ai içi! Hm!") This particular paraverbal strategy was employed frequently right into the middle of the sixth month of school (February). Initially it co-related most strongly with "holding the floor" and "L2 reinforcement" but as the year advanced, reasons for use of non word utterances declined substantially except for L2 reinforcement. In the latter half of the year (February-May) there was evidence of a new category developing which incorporated non word characteristics in responses to children's direct statements (e.g. C."Next it's going to be jaune." P. "Oh, je ne sais pas."(contradiction) C." He had put cold mittens on my face." P. "Oh, c'est grave ça." (agreement)). While this strategy of employing non word utterances itself was used infrequently towards the end of the year those examples which the analysis revealed occurred exclusively within dialogue situations (e.g. C."Why is Gédeon scared?" P. "Oh, de la noirceur, eh.") or were an incidental part of setting up children for activities (e.g. "Ah, S. tu es le wagon jaune" - children making up parts of a train). With respect to the use of non words then, the emphasis shifted over the year from being a frequent, emphatic strategy to becoming one more incidental in nature and geared to responding to student statements within the context of dialogue.

Prosody. Integral to the use of any language are those aspects of prosody such as intonation, pitch, and intensity which serve the important function of allowing children to construct meaning before they actually understand the new language. Significant words drawn out for emphasis, a tone of voice exaggerated to make a point, or a juxtaposition of words and sounds (a small whispery voice for "petit", a large booming one for "grand") all serve to clarify, confirm or correct the

assumptions children are making about this new language and classroom expectations.

Inherent in this multi-dimensional strategy was an attempt to encourage and advance comprehension both affectively (motherese) and cognitively by drawing particular attention to lexical meaning. As the children in this classroom grew in L2 competence, evidence of this strategy decreased dramatically because there was no longer any need to emphasize what was already understood.

Silence. It was noted that verbal "cloze" was an infrequent strategy used by this teacher and that while the responses sought were at first closed (only one correct answer) later, as children's comprehension developed, cloze sentences became more open ended regarding the choice of answers (e.g., "Il mangeait"---- children invited to select any item of food they wished to complete this statement). The strategy evolved from "checking" to see if children knew the correct response to extending children's thinking by encouraging a variety of responses.

Common to all of these paraverbal strategies was the fact that they focused attention on meaning within the second language and as comprehension developed their usage declined noticeably.

Kinesic

Motion seems to reflect and reinforce verbal meaning. In this L2 classroom two kinesic behaviors seemed to stand out: gestures, and to a lesser degree facial expression. In particular, gestures seemed to be very important accompaniments to language teaching. Hands and arms moved about freely to both introduce and demonstrate salient points. Sweeping motions marked emphasis, mimicked ideas,

encouraged response, and directed behavior. Less evident within this study was the use of facial expression. One form, smiling, reflected support and reinforcement of ideas.

It appeared that the use of gestures by this teacher was designed, in particular, to draw attention to herself, with each of the smaller gestural subcomponents contributing towards this universal goal. For example, "pointing index finger in the air," "clicking fingers," and "clapping hands," gained children's attention quickly while "placing index finger and thumb together," "placing hand to ear," and "rubbing and/or clasping hands" were forms of mimicking to make a particular point. "Rolling arms and waving toward self," invited children to respond while "great sweeping motions" were used as markers of special emphasis. There was a very obvious attempt to "act out" the language in order to reduce complexity.

From the ample evidence available, it was interesting to note that this teacher's manipulation of pedagogical materials provided a great deal of language support consistently throughout the year. Initially, entirely teacher controlled, such materials were "animated," 'manipulated," "held up," and "demonstrated," with great "gusto" and accompanied by mimicking and noise effects.

This teacher's physical domination of the proceedings decreased markedly in the latter half of the year as gestures became more subdued and were no longer used solely to underscore reinforcement. A simple "pointing to materials" for reference replaced the previously zealous physical management of artifacts and a new dimension was uncovered. Now it became apparent that the teacher was "giving" objects more frequently to children and encouraging them to manipulate

them within set activities (e.g., in one activity seven children hang paper train cars representing days of the week around their necks and engage in song and movement activity to reinforce this concept). In effect, the children were now taking over the role of "acting out" language in order to extend comprehension and learning. The principal kinesic function therefore, seemed to encompass gestures, which shifted from an accent on "teacher performance" to one where children's partioipation became more important to the development of meaning.

With respect to the minor category of facial expression "smiling," this affective strategy predominated in the very early part of the year and co-occurred with the language behaviour, "encouragement." It dropped off noticeably by February and was employed more often to reinforce appropriate L2 responses rather than desirable classroom behaviours.

Proxemic

This strategy involved more direct contact with children. Touching children, physically moving them about, and pointing to them seemed to refocus behavior management goals and was , of necessity, accompanied by postural behaviors such as bending over, crouching, or walking towards and away from children. The two relevant proxemic behaviours (a) touching children, and (b) teacher posture revolved initially around questions of social distance and the establishment and control of the boundaries surrounding the large open area of space between the children and teacher. As well, however, this space provided the teacher with an "arena' for promoting a clear display of the language/paralanguage agenda. Frequent bending over, crouching, standing up, and walking around

supported language development within songs, rituals, etc. and co-occurred with the use of materials. Further on into the year when boundaries were taken for granted by all concerned, the focus of such behaviours was directed more toward engineering activities within that same space. Now, more of the touching of children and related postural stances were simply ways of guiding children to perform or engage in specific language songs, games etc. While the behaviours of touching and posture remained constant over the year their functions changeed from a stress on territorial control to simple manipulation of the available space in order to achieve language goals.

Summary

An examination of the paralanguage strategies in this data revealed that a wide variety of paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic variables provided a strong supportive role in the development of meaning. Often co-occurring and blending both across categories (e.g., paraverbal- kinesic) and within categories (touching-posture), paralanguage elements drew attention to both the teacher and specific features of language. This helped to concretize and contextualize language to allow a certain measure of child participation before true comprehension was evident. It was interesting to note that both teacher and child manipulation of materials were evident as important kinesic behaviours allowing for maximum exploitation of language and participation on the part of children. All of the paralanguage strategies decreased dramatically over time as the children's comprehension of L2 evolved.

General Summary of Research Findings

What are the variables that make up a French immersion scaffolding process? Are some variables more important than others and does their nature change over time? These were the questions this self-study sought to answer. The supporting evidence suggested that there was indeed a scaffolding process in place in this French immersion program and that the teacher employed a variety of language (modelling, expansion, direction, encouragement) and paralanguage (paraverbal, kinesic, proxemic) strategies. It further suggested that some strategies were more important than others at different times throughout the year.

Initially, language was primarily conveyed by the dominating physical presence of the teacher. Forcefully repeated, extended, and encouraged, language, both pedagogical and organizational in nature, was heavily supported by the manipulation of materials and the use of exaggerated voice and body movements. The children's participation at this stage revolved around the memorization and imitation of "teacher" language and gestures within songs and formulas.

Over the course of the year as behavioural expectations became established and comprehension developed, subtle shifts in emphasis appeared. The supportive paralanguage features decreased in intensity and the previous focus on "form" was replaced by an accentuation of content as teacher-student dialogue began to evolve. A new spirit of collaboration manifested itself as students increasingly initiated their own learning by being more involved in the physical organization of their activities, manipulating materials and directing dialogue.

A significant finding related to both the language and paralanguage dimensions was the important role played by the use of songs, formulas, and

pedagogical materials to not only concretize the language but permit participation of the children at all stages of language learning. The major finding was that paralanguage strategies provided not only useful but very necessary support to language in the early stages of second language learning. Gradually over time, however, these strategies decreased in frequency, emphasis and form as comprehension allowed language to gain dominance. Increasingly, language was used to clarify, link and extend ideas and was incorporated into dialogue in response to feedback from children. The "language" variable superseded the paralanguage variable to become the most important element of the scaffolding process allowing for teacher/student collaboration in the process of negotiation of meaning.

The following chapter will examine the conclusions which can be drawn from these findings and will outline implications for pedagogy and questions for further research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This self-study sought to answer a variety of questions and concerns about the social, interactive nature of the teacher's communication in the initial stages of L2 learning. In particular, as noted in the literature review (Genesee, 1987) there was a need to focus research on interaction patterns and to consider the pedagogical and linguistic strategies employed by teachers in the second language learning situation.

An application of Jerome Bruner's "scaffolding process" seemed particularly adaptable to this study because it considers the role of the adult tutor in an interactive instructional context. Furthermore, studies (Cazden, 1983; Ilott, 1987) which applied this technique yielded valuable information about communicative behaviors in classroom situations.

The task now became one of applying Bruner's principles to the data collected in a French immersion kindergarten in order to determine if there was an L2 scaffolding process in use in this classroom. If so, what were its dominant variables? were some more important than others? and did the variables change over time?

Choosing to employ constitutive ethnography as defined by Hugh Mehan to analyze the data was both a deliberate attempt to forego the traditional restrictive methodology vis-a-vis French immersion studies and a means to ensure comprehensive treatment of all the data.

Many hours of repeated viewings of selected videotapes identified important categories and extensive analysis further reduced the data to a manageable, integrated L2 Scaffolding Model which was labelled Control of Complexity of L2 (Table 1). The essential elements of its two major language and paralanguage components were clearly defined and an interpretation of these elements revealed several interesting findings which seemed to support and/or clarify the literature in this area.

A recap of the findings related to the purposes and strategies of the L2 scaffolding process accompanied by a consideration of their implications for further research and pedagogy along with a concluding statement will now bring the study to a close.

Major Purposes and Strategies of the L2 Scaffolding Process

The findings of this study disclosed that classroom culture (Wilkinson, 1982) as well as the culture of kindergarten itself (Weber & Tardif, 1987) provided the source of L2 content which was introduced and reinforced in this classroom. Revolving around the themes, rituals, and routines of typical kindergarten classroom life, the major purposes of language (supported by paralanguage strategies) usage by this teacher were, at first, to introduce and reinforce L2 content and to establish and regulate both boundaries and behavior. While the dominant classroom/kindergarten culture continued to provide an ongoing impetus for language development, the teacher's classroom language changed and expanded subtly as the year progressed. Then language became more complex, as organizational strategies shifted emphasis from behavior control to simple

management of space and activities and the increasing participation of the children defined new ways of expanding language concepts. From passive mimicking of songs and language formulas, the children passed into the stage of actively effecting and enlarging their repertoire of language skills. This occurred through manipulation of concrete materials, involvement in dialogue, and in response to the building up of shared experiences and expectations. This seems to support Wong-Fillmore's stance (1989) that children play an active role in language interaction; as the children in this study became more linguistically comfortable in the shared social setting their responses within dialogues indicated when and how speech should be adjusted. Beyond this however, it seemed that children's manipulation of concrete materials allowed them to physically "act out" language and thus added another dimension to the language learning process.

Within this study a variety of intentional and unintentional teaching strategies co-occurred, blended, and/or combined to define the role of the adult tutor in the process of negotiating meaning in L2. Common to all direct language behaviors (modeling, expansion, direction of rituals and routines, and encouragement) was the teacher's use of culturally determined language promoted by specific language formulas (McLaughlin, 1982) and patterns (e.g., beginning and finishing markers), songs and the use of "realia."

The interesting finding in this study however, was the importance of supportive paralanguage. An examination of pedagogically significant paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic teacher behaviors revealed that paralanguage strategies functioned to reduce the complexity of language by drawing emphatic attention to language in order to contextualize and concretize it as well as to allow for some

participation of the children before comprehension was in place. This paralanguage function appears to extend Krashen's theory of "comprehensible input' (1982) by showing that in the early stages of L2 the students are actually responding more to non verbal cues than to actual language input as he defined it. It also appears to support Bruner's thesis (1987) that the information provided by non verbal cues permits children to engage in communicative activities that would otherwise be beyond their understanding. In the beginning, paralanguage strategies served to highlight the physical presence of the teacher as she focused attention on herself in order to emphasize the linguistic context. Language gains made by the children over the course of the year however, allowed them to become increasingly more actively involved in their learning and resulted in virtual "self-destruction" (Cazden, 1983) of the paralanguage strategies.

By closely examining the language and paralanguage teaching strategies as manifested in this classroom over a period of eight months, the researcher concluded that initially the adult tutor physically controlled a culturally determined L2 agenda principally through the use of paralanguage strategies. With the onset of the students' expanded comprehension of L2 and more active participation in the learning process, the teacher's role gradually expanded to include the children's perspective. Collaborative language strategies slowly replaced the paralanguage behaviors to become the major focus of second language learning.

Implications for Further Research

The major focus of this research was the role of the adult tutor in the L2 scaffolding process. As the study progressed it became clear that some relevant

questions were necessarily being left unanswered while other interesting questions arose as a result of the findings.

It was determined, in this study, that the source of all L2 content derived from the traditional and organizational language of kindergarten classroom life. It was found also that classroom culture in and of itself provided valuable "cues" to children, allowing them to build up a repertoire of expectations thus enabling them to feel more comfortable and to anticipate language as it developed. A more complete examination of classroom culture than that provided in this study is needed to explore the relationship between all these factors and their effects on second language development.

This study has concentrated on the interactive role of the adult tutor in the scaffolding process. A natural progression would now be to more closely consider the child's role in this process. When do children begin to feel comfortable participating? What form does their participation take both initially and later? Discourse analysis done from an interactive perspective might be revealing. Another component, as suggested by Weber and Tardif, would be to consider the "collective search for meaning." What are the group strategies? How do students help each other in this process?

The significance of paralanguage strategies has been highlighted in this research. This study has merely "scratched the surface" of this important area, which has been virtually neglected in second language research. The various paralanguage strategies should be considered in much more detail, and with sophisticated equipment in order to get at the "minutiae" (Birdwhistell, 1952) of non verbal content. To reiterate what Pennycook (1985) has said, teachers need to

understand the non verbal messages they send out and they must actively teach students to exploit the use of paralinguistic signals as well.

Implications for Pedagogy

The ultimate goal of research is to strengthen the knowledge base of any given field of study. My self-study adopted an interactive perspective of L2 acquisition and attempted to clarify the role of the teacher in the L2 teaching/learning interaction by looking specifically not only at language but paralanguage teaching strategies as well. I felt that not enough was known about a second language teacher's use of non verbal communication and I hoped to contribute information identifying important paralinguistic features of L2 which influenced subsequent language acquisition. It is my belief that the process model I developed and called Control of Complexity of L2 offers teachers and researchers in the field of L2 a clear description of the language and paralanguage behaviors and strategies at work in my classroom and provides a standard against which other teachers might like to compare their own classroom strategies. By examining these behaviors over a period of eight months I feel that I achieved a level of accuracy that lends credibility to my findings which show that paralanguage "self- destructs" and that language as dialogue becomes increasingly dominant. My findings related to the importance of classroom routines and rituals, songs, language formulas, dialogue, and the use of concrete materials might lead some teachers to concur with my results or encourage others to test out the viability of these strategies in their own classrooms.

The most satisfying part of this project for me was choosing to be a teacher/researcher because it has permitted me to gain a deeper knowledge of my

own teaching style and, I feel, this increased awareness will only help me to be a more effective L2 teacher.

Concluding Statement

This research study sought to identify an L2 scaffolding process in a French immersion kindergarten by applying constitutive ethnographic research methods as defined by Mehan to Bruner's principles of scaffolding. The research findings indicated that there was an L2 scaffolding process in this particular kindergarten consisting of specific language and paralanguage teaching strategies. It was further determined that, over time, as the children became more able to actively participate in their language learning, the initially dominant paralanguage strategies "self-destructed" to be replaced by "collaborative" language strategies.

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